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Cultural Synchrony in Performance: An Examination of the Musical Use of the Japanese Word *Nori*

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Synchrony as cultural phenomenon

It is Edward T. Hall who has pointed out the importance of synchrony in human communication (1976). I also think that consideration of synchrony will give an alternative model to human communication instead of the 'psychological model' in which 'the actual interactive event is a mere clue, signal, sign, or symptom of something else' (Moerman 1990: 7). How is synchrony organised?

Hall seems to think that synchrony is, on the one hand, biologically programmed. He refers to the work of William S. Condon (Condon and Sander 1974), who has demonstrated synchrony far beyond our consciousness and coined the word "entrainment". On the other hand, Hall thinks that synchrony is culturally accomplished. We are making synchrony consciously. I think both views are true. The problem is how both are related with each other. Here, we have to reflect that we have not closely observed the cultural construction of synchrony. How is synchrony re-organised in each culture?

We are short of data for answering this question. When researchers in communication and anthropologists refer to synchrony, they often take music and dance as their prime examples. But their remarks are nothing but metaphorical.

It must be a musicologist who should discuss this problem. But many musicologists have taken synchrony for granted. They have been interested in the deviation from synchrony in each performance. It is not making synchrony but making such deviation from synchrony that they have thought to be relevant for the players and audiences. This is based on the 'psychological model'. A performance is considered as an opportunity for players to deliver new information or a variation to audiences on the ground of synchrony common to both players and audiences. Of course this is true of modern music, especially of the West. From this point of view, the making of synchrony has remained unquestioned in musicology.

Why do they make such deviations in a performance? And how is it accepted

by the present audiences? To answer these questions, I introduce another view that the player's intention to make the deviation is merely a process to accomplish 'synchrony'. I suppose that the goal of playing music is to make a 'mutual tuning-in relationship' as Schutz has pointed out (1951). The manner of such 'tuning-in' must vary from culture to culture. It may even be possible to recognize such 'tuning-in' where no physical synchronization could be found. By 'cultural synchrony' I mean the particular way of making synchrony, including deviations in the process. By 'cultural' I mean that our object of study is the phenomena of synchrony as observed and thought about in a culture, rather than the physical fact of synchrony.

In this paper, as a sample of cultural synchrony, I will discuss the word *nori* used in talking about music of *Nô* drama, a form of Japanese narrative music, and describe the musical structure that the word refers to. This will also tell us how synchrony is viewed through *Nô* music and drama. This same word is also used to refer to the character of face-to-face communication and that of each participant. The observation on *nori*, in music may also provide a clue to the construction of synchrony in Japanese face to-face communication.

The word *nori* in musical use

Terminology in music is not necessarily technical. The construction of sounds is often referred to metaphorically (Feld 1981). *Nori* is not proper in musical terminology.

In Japanese, there is a verb *noru*. The canonical meaning of this verb is to 'ride', 'take', or 'mount'. We can *noru* (ride or mount) a bus, a horse and even a footstool. The object (objective) of *noru* is a substantial thing in many cases. But we can say we *noru* a wave, a rhythm, or a manner. *Nami-ni-noru* (to ride a wave) is an idiom which expresses 'to go on well'. We can say 'our business is now *nami-ni-noru* (My business goes very well)'. The idiom *choshi-ni-noru* also has the same meaning. In these idioms, the object is not necessarily material and it is sometimes obscure. Here, *chôsi* means good condition. So the object is often omitted in this idiomatic expression. When we say 'he is now *notte-iru* (the progressive form of the verb)', we mean that things are going very well for him in something, e.g., in his work. It often implies in a critical context that he is working *extraordinarily*. The meanings of *noru* which come from these idioms are also canonical now and registered in every Japanese dictionary as such. *Nori* is the noun form of this word.

Hirano explains in a Japanese encyclopedia of music that the term *nori* is adopted in musical use on the premise that it was not a musical term proper (Hirano

1989: 108). I also think this is true and will advance my discussion on this premise.

According to his explanation, *nori* is used in musical discourse as an expression mark. *Nori-o-yoku-suru* (to make *nori* better means to play in definite beats or to play on an even pulse. *Nori-o-osaeru* (to suppress *nori*) means to make the beats inconspicuous. The canonical meaning of the verb '*noru*' in discourses about music is to make beats and rhythm more definite.

So *nori* is musically defined as 'rhythm with definite beats'. In other words, when we observe a progression of even beats in musical sounds whether they are grouped or not, the character of the rhythm is expressed by applying the word *nori*. I have also observed in practice scenes of *Nō* plays such use of the word. I have heard teachers of chanting say to their pupils, '*Nori-o-dase*' (give or put *nori*). The pupils try to sing each syllable definitely and evenly in response to this order.

Additionally, especially in *shamisen* music, the verb *noru* also means to accelerate. In this case, *nori* means that the intervals between the beats gradually become shorter and shorter. Here, we have two images of *nori* in musical sound. One is the continuation of even beats. The other is the acceleration of rhythm. The two are inconsistent.

I think that this inconsistency comes from the fact that our explanation of *nori* in music focuses only on the constructed sound. We have never seen how it is constructed as the action of the players. All we have to do is to find the consistency by examining each action of the players. Keeping this in mind as the main theme in this paper, I will further explain the musical use of *nori* in *Nō* drama.

***Nori* as 'types of rhythm'**

Nori is used to refer to the types of rhythm in performing arts, especially in narrative arts such as *Nō* plays and *Gidayū* music. In *Nō* drama, we can find three terms using *nori* as a suffix, i.e., *ō-nori*, *chū-nori*, and *hira-nori*. *Nō* plays have been performed for more than 600 years and similar use of the verb *noru* as discussed above can be found as early as in the writings of Zeami, one of the founders of *Nō* drama, while these three terms were coined only about 100 years ago. Umewaka Manju, a player of *Nō*, coined the words in his book *Yōyōshū* (1865) in which he theorized the music in *Nō* drama (Gamō 1987). I suppose it is only about 50 years ago that the words began to appear in notations of chanting texts and prevailed among the students of *Nō* chanting.

Now, these three *nori* are subdivisions of the metrical rhythm (*hyōshi-ai*) in chanting. (See the table.) Here, *hyōshi* means the beat, not necessarily even or metered, which drums are supposed to play. In *Nō* drama, chanting is accompanied

by the drums, the flute and dancing. But unaccompanied chanting is also often performed independently. In the case of chanting without drums, *hyōshi* indicates the beat which the singers have in mind by themselves.

Recently, another three more types of rhythm in chanting using the base stem *nori* have come to be specified. They are *ei-nori*, *sashi-nori*, and *kuri-nori*. I will comment on these later.

Here I will explain briefly the basic unit of *hyōshi*, i.e., the metrical unit of beats in *Nō* music, first. The standard metrical unit of repetition in *Nō* music is 8 *hyōshi*(s). In this terminology, *hyōshi* means a pulse in Cooper and Meyer's sense (1960). In the music of *Nō*, 8 pulses are grouped as a unit of repetition. Here, we may refer to the 8 pulses as 8 beats or an '8-beat unit' because they are grouped. I think we had better not call the unit 'metered'. In fact, the repetition of the units is not so clearly recognised by listeners as in the Western musical sense.

The historically old three *nori* (*ō-nori*, *chū-nori* and *hira-nori*) are usually explained as follows. The three *nori* are distinguished according to how the syllables in the words of the text of chanting are adjusted to the 8-beat unit (fig. 1). Following this explanation, the meaning of *nori* in this terminology is 'ways of adjusting' the syllables of chanting to the 8-beat unit.

It is interesting that although the word *nori* is used to name the types of rhythm in chanting without accompaniment, its explanation is made by using phrases such as 'adjusting chanting to the *hyōshi*' of the drums. As can be shown in the staff notation (fig. 1), the metrical 8-beat unit is realized exclusively in the chanting sound itself. The process of adjusting does not remain in the sound of chanting itself. And, it is often the case that teachers do not teach the existence of this process to novices of chanting. When they come to learn drum patterns which actualize the beats in the units, they come to understand this adjusting the syllables in the process as shown in fig. 1 by themselves.

Anyway, in this usage, *nori* means adjusting. This usage implies that two kinds of different rhythmic patterns, i.e., of the syllables in the chanting text and of *hyōshi*, are required to make one rhythm pattern. This explains why they use the word *nori* to refer to types of rhythm. We need an object in order to 'ride'. And we are needed as a subject by the object in order for us to be ridden. In the case of musical *nori*, the subject is the syllables of text which has a definite duration prescribed in the neume-like notation, and the object is the unit of 8 beats. *Nori* is the way of adjusting of the former to the latter.

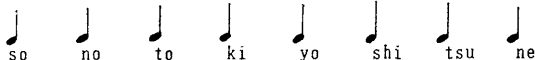
The usage like an expression mark discussed previously is also applied in this classification (table). The terms *hira-nori*, *ō-nori* and *chū-nori* all include the base noun *nori*, but only *ō-nori* and *chū-nori* are actually considered as rhythmical.

CULTURAL SYNCHRONY IN PERFORMANCE

Hira-nori is regarded not rhythmical. In recent chanting notation (since 1939) of the Kanze school, where *o-nori* rhythm begins, they simply write *noru* (to ride) at the side of the text. In the place where *o-nori* rhythm ends and *hira-nori* rhythm begins, they write *nora-zu* (not to ride). As shown in fig. 1, we may


o-nori

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
so	no	to	ki	yo	shi	tsu	ne



chū-nori


1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
i	ka	ni	mo	da	i	ji	o
					no	ko	sa
					zu	tsu	ta
						e	te



hira-nori

tsuzuke-utai

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
u	chi	to	no	ka	mi	no	mi
							su
							e
							ni
							te



mitsuji-utai

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
u	chi	to	no	ka	mi	no	mi
							su
							e
							ni
							te


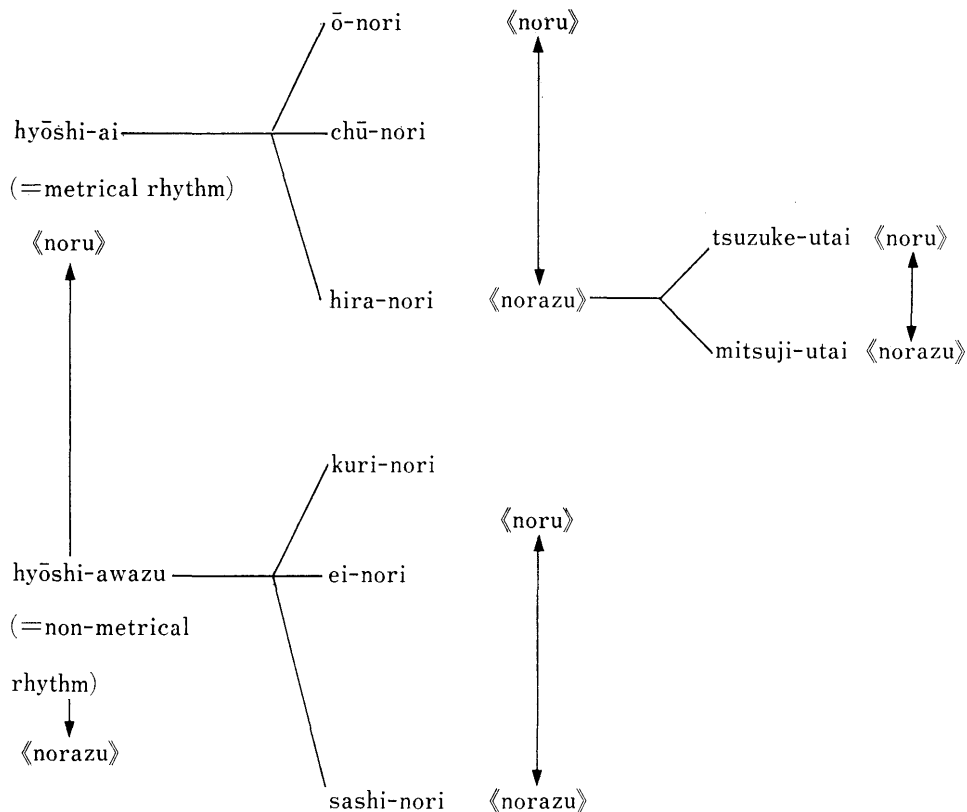


Fig. 1 The way of adjusting of the syllables to 8-beat unit

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Table The classification of the types of chanting rhythms and application of the dichotomy (*noru/norazu*) to them



(*mitsuji*). They can not fill in all 8 beats. In *mitsuji-utai* fig. 1, I put the numbers of beats. But as symbolized in the lack of evenness in the interval between the numbers, the 8-beat unit is broken and partly abandoned. At this level, we can also find the contrast characterized by the dichotomy of *noru/nora-zu*. *Tsuzuke-utai* is called *noru* and *mitsuji-utai* is called *nora-zu*. (See the table.) A writer of a textbook for the shoulder drum player says that 'where there is no *nori* in chanting, we, the shoulder drum players, play the *mitsuji* pattern' and that 'where there is *nori* in chanting, we play the *tsuzuke* pattern' (Iwasaki 1912). For drum players, the distinction between *mitsuji* chanting and *tsuzuke* chanting is made from the point of the existence of *nori*.

In spite of including the contrast at the subdivision level, the three types of rhythmic patterns are all called *nori* together. It is taken for granted by professional players and amateurs. This leads us to a new question. This usage of *nori* is different from the usage explained in musical encyclopedias. As observed in my explanation of *hira-nori*, when it is compared with *ō-nori*, it is labeled as *nora-zu*. But on the other hand, it is named as *nori*. The evenness of beats is not the main condition in constructing *nori*.

Co-existence of the different sequences: from sound to action

As opposed to *hyōshi-ai*, there is also a chanting style called *hyōshi-awazu*. (See the table.) While *hyōshi-ai* (metrical rhythm) as discussed previously is often labeled as *noru* (to ride), *hyōshi-awazu* (literally, non-metrical rhythm) is labeled as *nora-zu* (not to ride). As a subdivision of *hyōshi-awazu*, Yokomichi, a researcher of music in *Nō*, has named *ei-nori*, *sashi-nori*, and *kuri-nori* (Yokomichi and Omote 1963). Although coinage of terms is not well received usually even among researchers, these three terms are comparatively accepted and used by researchers and players. Of course, on the one hand, it is labeled as *nora-zu*. But on the other hand, it is called *nori*. This leads us to a curious idea that what the word *nori* refers to also must be characterized by *nora-zu* (not to ride).

As for these three *nori*, we cannot illustrate the relation of the adjusting of the syllables in chanting to the 8-beat unit at a time in the form of the staff notation, because they do not share beats. Singers chant following only the rhythm which is prescribed in each syllable, making a sequence in its own. Drum players follow their own sequence of beats. There is no expectation that the syllables are chanted strictly simultaneously with drum beats. After repeatedly practicing and becoming accustomed to chanting with drum players, singers can expect the drum beats to be situated in relation to chanting beats, but not strictly. In fig. 2-A, I attempt

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A

bya ku e ko ku e no te n ni n no: ka zu o

ya: ha: x (ō-tsuzumi)

ya: x ha: x ha: x (ko-tsuzumi)

B

bya ku e ko ku e no te n ni n no: ka zu o

drum calls

strokes

Fig. 2 Notations of the relation between chanting and drums in *sashi-nori*

to express the rhythm of chanting in the staff notation by arranging the drum calls and strokes. From the singer's point of view, it is irrelevant whether the calls and strokes of the drum players are metrical or not. Fig. 2-B shows the same place from the drum player's point of view. Drum players are conscious of the existence of 8-beat unit. But here, not every beat is filled with strokes. So the interval between the beats in the 8-beat unit become flexible or broken. The first 4-beat space is for the *ō-tsuzumi* (the lap drum). It is filled with 2 drum calls, 'ya' and 'ha', and a stroke. The last 4-beat space is for the *ko-tsuzumi* (the shoulder drum). It is filled with 3 drum calls and 3 strokes. This is the pattern named *mitsuji*. Fig. 2-B reflects the drum player's view that chanting syllables are not strictly fixed to the stroke or call of the drum players.

Because of this absence of strict concordance of beats between chanting and drumming, a novice, either of chanting or drumming, may often lose the sense of how to perform. But in each part, the sequence of playing is highly patterned. The evidence is that it is possible somehow to transcribe in the form of the staff notation part by part. But we cannot write the whole score in staff notation. So what is needed at first for each player is to be automatic in playing the sequence and to get such automaticity in action independent of other parts. In the first step, there is no room for listening to other parts. But soon, players come to be able to listen to other parts.

Such kinds of independency can be found in many places. I will show some

examples.

The flute player's main role is to accompany dance rather than chanting. Another role is to play accompaniment to chanting. This role is called *ashirai* (the noun form of the verb *ashirau*, the meaning of which is to 'treat', 'deal' or 'arrange'). Here, not only gearing of the beats of flute melody and beats in chanting but also playing a phrase to the length of a phrase of chanting are avoided. If it were not so, the performance would be evaluated as excessively *tsuku* ('attached' or 'sticky').

The avoidance of such 'attachment' can be typically observed in the relation between chanting (or music in general) and dancing. In 1419, Zeami used the word *nori* in his writing. He applied this word to the relation between music (perhaps instrumental ensembles) and dance. Komparu Zempō (born in 1454), another author of theoretical writings on performance, also used this word in the relation between music and dance. They used it mainly in the form of a verb with an object (e.g. 'to let the dancing 'ride' the music').

In dance movement, there are few movements that express beats, except for *ashi-hyōshi* (stamping rhythm by feet). The sequence in movement is constructed out of a combination of units such as 'walk forward', 'raise both hands to side', 'turn right', 'go afterward and turn straight'. These units are not related with the beats realized in chanting. But the word *nori* is used to evaluate this relation. A teacher often says to a dancer, 'your *nori* is not very good'. The teacher is talking about the lack of smoothness in the progression from a unit to another and/or talking about the 'attachment' of his dance unit to the punctuation in music and chanting.

There is a long tradition of avoiding 'attached' playing. In a 17th century critical treatise, we can find the avoidance of *jūgen* (layered words) and *ate-shimai*. A singer was singing following the progression of the text. At the time when he was singing the syllable 'ya', the drum player who was following the progression of its own patterns including the drum call 'ya', also gave that call. They uttered 'ya' simultaneously. It must be avoided because it was 'layered word' sounds. The simultaneity of the content of text and the gesture of dancer is also avoided by being referred to as *ate-shimai*. I will give an example of this later.

Then, how do they say to make *nori* good? Unfortunately, I have never heard a player explain it analytically. The teacher only says to the pupils, 'Practice until you can move naturally and unconsciously'. Unconsciousness is often exaggerated in relation to *mu* (nothing) in the terminology of Zen Buddhism.

What we have to keep in mind is that what they mean by 'nature' is not biological nature but what is acquired through mimetic practice. It is 'automaticity' of movement in Leroi-Gourant's sense (Nomura 1983: 30). It can be said that

nori in *Nô* performance is thought to be accomplished through this process. They do not think that they can get good *nori* by carefully adjusting among themselves beat by beat.

This kind of thought can be also found when they perform metrical beats, i.e., *nori* in the narrow sense. In *ô-nori*, and chanters all instrument players are, on the one hand, thought to be following the 8-beat unit. In the musical sense, *ô-nori* is thought to be a most typical *nori* of all the rhythmic types. But on the other hand, in practice, it also can be said that they do not follow and keep the 8-beat units. Here I will summarise the observation made in Fujita 1988. The size of the units of repetition sometimes differ player by player. The beats of chanting are grouped by 4 beats. The beats of the *ko-tsuzumi* are sometimes grouped by 16 beats. The starting point of some instruments differs from that of chanting. It is the *ô-tsuzumi* that is thought to be starting 2 beats earlier than chanting. In some beats, the movements of the drum players are not the same. As I will show in a simple example later, the function of a beat differs from player to player. For example, for the *ô-tsuzumi* player some beats are the beats to be filled with the strokes by himself. For the *ko-tsuzumi* player, the very to beats may be the beats to take *komi* (to 'charge'), i.e., get ready to make a succeeding drum call and stroke (Fujita 1986). At every beat, players are forced to make different moves.

I observed another example when students were chanting a standard *hira-nori* phrase. The teacher stopped them. They were chanting the first syllable of the text to the first beat of an 8-beat unit played by the teacher. Theoretically, this way of chanting is not false. As a matter of fact, some good professional players at that time were chanting in that way. But maybe the teacher did not like that way. He said to the pupils, 'Don't you think the *nori* disappeared

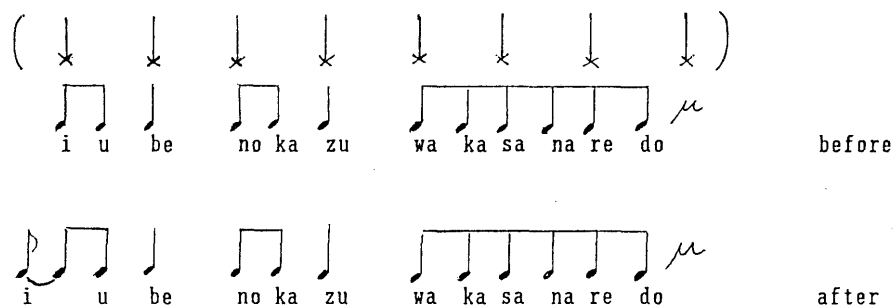


Fig. 3 A teacher's comment on *nori* in a *hira-nori* phrase

at that point?'. The students changed their way of chanting into that shown in fig. 3 below. This is evidence that unison does not necessarily mean full of *nori*.

Sequential function in *nori*

So far, I have insisted on the existences of difference among the players when they are making good *nori*. But here is a question. How are these sounds and actions of the players integrated as a whole? If each player is playing freely, the ensemble will break down. So here we have to think about some function of sound that lies in the existence of the different in an ensemble. To discuss about that, I will show one example concerning the absence of *nori* in playing.

The way of utilization of notation is a problem to consider separately on another occasion. In *Nō*, notation is not used in performance. It is used only in practice. Professional players are seen as those who have memorized all the written text, and dancing, drums and flute patterns to accompany the text. For them the notation is only useful when they happen to forget the next phrase. There is no custom of interpreting notation as seen in the Western musical tradition.

Amateurs are also forbidden to look at the notation while playing. They are expected to memorize the patterns. There are several ways to explain this prohibition against looking at the notation. One is that if they look at the notation during performance they cannot give *nori* to the performance (Saitō 1968: 35). Looking at the notation deprives the sound in chanting of the sequential progression from note to note. In this case, *nori* means 'sequentiality'.

We must think of sequentiality in two ways. One is the sequential progression for a player that I have already referred to (Nomura *ibid.*). Another is the sequential progression constituted among co-players. A movement and a sound by a player can be the trigger to another player's next movement, to say nothing of his own next movement. Here I will demonstrate this.

The movements and sounds of the *ō-tsuzumi* player and the *ko-tsuzumi* player may be said to be interlocking.

When the singer is chanting in *sashi-nori* rhythm, both drum players are playing as shown in fig. 4. First they are repeating the pattern shown in the upper line. Theoretically they are playing an 8-beat unit, but the fact is that the 8-beat unit is filled with 2 drum calls and a stroke by the *ō-tsuzumi* player and then three drum calls and strokes by the *ko-tsuzumi* player. So as already related, the

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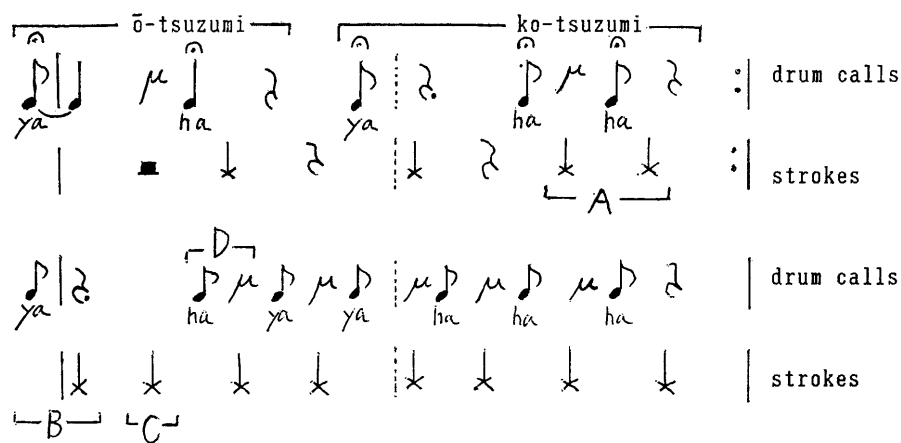


Fig. 4 Drum players' pattern change in *sashi-nori* chanting

8-beat unit is nearly absent even for the drum players. According to the ending of the *sashi-nori* chanting, both drum players go to the next pattern shown in the lower line in fig. 4. Here we can safely say that drum players are following an 8-beat unit. Generally, this move to the lower pattern is thought to be initiated by the *ō-tsuzumi* player giving the drum call 'ya' just before the first stroke falls on the first beat of the 8-beat unit (fig. 4, B). This stroke and the sound of hitting the drum becomes a cue for the *ko-tsuzumi* player to go to the lower (next) pattern.

The times of repetition of the upper pattern are almost always fixed. So it may be said that the *ko-tsuzumi* player could go to the next pattern following his own sequentiality. But this is true only of novices. Usually they do not count the times of repetition. B by the *ō-tsuzumi* leads to C by the *ko-tsuzumi*. And then C leads to D by the *ō-tsuzumi* player.

Here, we must question whether B by the *ō-tsuzumi* player initiated the move from the upper pattern to the lower pattern. An *ō-tsuzumi* player once said that he felt as if the 2-beat strokes by *ko-tsuzumi* (A) were more rhythmical when the former pattern goes to the latter. He felt that A led to his B. It also can be pointed out that the melodic pattern of chanting informs the other players of the end of the *sashi-nori* rhythm. So the change of the melodic pattern draws out the moves by drum players.

Here, we can situate an episode among players. In some portions of a certain piece, the tempo sometimes became too fast for proper acceleration. After that performance, one player blamed the other for speeding up. But the player blamed denied his responsibility. He said he only followed the other players. He began

blaming the others. It is often the case that after all it is not clear what was the original cause of acceleration and who was to be blamed.

Thus, we can trace back such sequentiality among players. A player's movement or sound is something that leads to the next movement by a co-player. Conversely, we may safely say that one player cannot make a movement or sound without a preceding sound.

Concerning this, it is also suggestive that we cannot find a clear mark to the point when a *Nō* play starts. We may say that it starts when the instrument players begin tuning up behind the stage, or when they line up on the stage or when the flute begins playing. This is also true for the end of a play.

Singers usually chant their sequence of the text autonomously. But sometimes they forget what to chant next. In this case, a drum player's sound informs them of a hint of the next text. In fig. 5, the syllable 'mo' at the end of the phrase has long duration. During the duration, the *ō-tsuzumi* player plays a pattern called *tsukusuma*. In any case, *tsukusuma* indicates that the next text begins with a 3-syllable word or phrase. The *tsukusuma* pattern can be a cue for the singers.

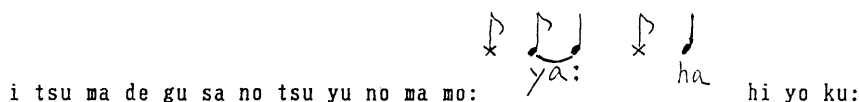


Fig. 5 The function of *ō-tsuzumi* pattern in the sequence of chanting

Similarly, dancing can be a cue for chanting. In the *Nō* play *Ama*, at the words 'through the unfathomed deep she dives', the dancer rapidly walks to the front of the stage and looks downward. Slightly after this posture the chanting text continues, 'she sees the bottom just beneath' (the translated text is cited from Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai 1960: 186). The posture of the dancer can be a cue for the sequential progression of the chanting. If the posture is made simultaneously to the text, there is no possibility that the posture could be read as a cue. This is an example of the traditionally avoided *ate-shimai*.

Let us go back to the *nori* seen in the sound. In some *Nō* plays, there is a specific variation pattern played by drum players called *nagashi* (flow). In the *nagashi* pattern, the three drum players are said to beat every 8 beats simultaneously. But the fact is that sometimes the *ō-tsuzumi* player does not play every beat. The definite pattern is played as usual (fig. 6). What does this way of playing the *ō-tsuzumi* mean?

The length of *nagashi* amounts to 3 units of 8 beats. After that, all the drum

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
stick drum	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
shoulder drum	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
lap drum	x	⌋	x	x	x	x	⌋	⌋
chanting text	a	shi	ta	ka	ya	ma	a	ya

Fig. 6 Beats in *nagashi* pattern

players go back to the usual pattern that accompanies the chanting. I think the *ō-tsuzumi* functions as a cue for this.

These examples tell us why the players insist on the difference among co-players.

Nori as cultural synchrony

You will remember the musical definition of *nori*. It was 'rhythm with definite beats'. But now, we are standing at the point where such a definition is nothing but an aspect of *nori*. Behind 'the rhythm with definite beats', there can be observed the different movements of each co-player. This is functioning to make sequentiality in the ensemble. The ensemble in a *Nō* play is approached through the process of non-*ensemble*. Each player comes to acquire automaticity in his movements and join in the ensemble. It must be suggestive that in the musical ensemble of a *Nō* play, players do not look at each other even when in practice. According to Tokumaru Yoshihiko, this is also true of the practice of *Gidayū* music by *shamisen* players and narrators of *Gidayū* chanting. He insists that during the performance, 'if the shamisen player looks at the puppet player or narrator, it means that he obeys them' (Tokumaru and Yamaguti 1986: 238). This independency is the basis for each player to receive other player's sound as a cue.

On this basis, sometimes it happens that one player slightly rejects a cue from an other player. This kind of resistance is essential to make a good ensemble and good *nori*. I will not give an example of this resistance this time. But one thing I want to say is that without this resistance, there is no tension between the co-players. Beats in metrical rhythm will become even and tired. Ultimately, evenness of beat is never evaluated as good *nori*. Ideally *nori* lies in evenness of beats but practically it lies in flexibility of the beats.

It may be said that in the state of good *nori*, a player has no will to adjust to

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other co-players. An amateur chanter, Hoshino says of her experience that whenever she chants in *hira-nori* rhythm she never feels she is shifting her way of chanting from *mitsuji* to *tsuzuke*. She feels as if the 8-beat unit of drum beats were falling on her chanting naturally (Hoshino 1943: 201). In this sense, it may not be possible to avoid the general tendency to think that *nori* is constructed not intentionally or consciously but naturally.

Nevertheless, what is seen as automatic construction by many players is regulation of some actions between co-players. I do not think that what I have described here are all rules to construct *nori*. In constructing *nori*, players are at least obliged to be involved in the process as described above and to think of such process. This is why synchrony is culturally constructed.

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